

Freedom

Anarchist Weekly

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MAY 15 1965 Vol. 26 No. 15

Black Anarchy Tomorrow?

DURING the last year four elections in countries of Southern Africa have taken place, all of which must underline the futility of advocating the ballot-box as the salvation for the oppressed African people in the area.

Nearly a year ago now, Swaziland held a general election for the first time in the 61 years of British rule there. A pro-South African alliance of African 'traditionalists' and white farmers was elected to power. In the first meeting of the Swaziland Legislative Council the Paramount Chief's representative declared his desire for independence from Britain as soon as possible, whilst a motion was debated in which the pro-Government mover said Swaziland would not interfere with South Africa's domestic affairs.

Early this year the first general election under universal suffrage took place in Bechuanaland and Seretse Khama became the Prime Minister with a very large majority. His party stands for a 'good neighbour' policy towards South Africa. Dr. Verwoerd sent his personal congratulations to Seretse Khama and lifted a ban on him visiting South Africa. The *Financial Times* (5.3.65) saw this as an attempt to wean Bechuanaland away from British influence towards the Republic. If one casts one's mind back to 1950, when the Labour Government stopped Seretse Khama returning to join his white wife in Bechuanaland, it will be appreciated that Dr. Verwoerd has a task of some ease on his hands. In 1950 Seretse Khama said: 'I am not to go home for five years. I told Gordon Walker (then Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations) I thought I had been tricked. They invited me to come, and now they say I am excluded from the territory. I only thought those things were supposed to happen in Russia. I said it was a dirty trick.' (Doubtless the voters of Smethwick and Leyton had this skeleton in Gordon-Walker's cupboard well in mind when

going relations with all the three high commission territories.'

If we take an over-all look at Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland we will see that pro-South African parties are in power in all three countries as they head for independence. Only in Basutoland is the Pan-Africanist support strong. The question is whether political independence for these three territories means economic independence. Oliver Walker writing of the three countries in his book *Kaffirs are Livelier* remarks that: 'Except for Swaziland, each is utterly dependent on South Africa as a market for its labour and its cattle. Swaziland has mineral resources of asbestos and iron ore, now being developed, which could ensure a greater measure of detachment. But Basutoland is a barren rock in the heart of South Africa, accustomed to hiring its manpower to the Rand gold mines, to farmers and to secondary industry. And Bechuanaland is good only for ranching and game reserves. Any one of them could be occupied tomorrow without fuss by a battalion of parachute troops from South Africa. Britain is not going to allow them to become rallying points for an attack on South Africa.'

It is little wonder that the editor of *Die Burger*, the main pro-Government paper in South Africa, can write (*Sunday Times*, 2.5.65): 'Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland are in effect British Bantustans, and Britain finds nothing incongruous about granting political independence to their underdeveloped peoples.' Even Llewellyn Chatter writing in the *Daily Telegraph* (21.4.65) admitted: 'One can only experience feelings of deepest shame when faced by the abysmal degree of illiteracy and ignorance prevalent in all three territories, notably in Bechuanaland and Swaziland. In the former 250 primary and secondary schools, all under-staffed, are trying to cope with 63,000 children, while another

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DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—

Where is that? One of the banana countries who have revolutions every week. People die in the fighting, no matter they will probably die of malnutrition or disease anyway.

Dominica has always been a happy stamping ground for dictators. Haiti was in occupation for 20 years or more, which was one of the most brutal and repressive periods in Dominica's tormented history. In 1916 America sent in the marines to restore *law and order*. They stayed eight years, created a national police force, which spewed up the dictator Trujillo. In 1930 he rigged the elections and stayed in office for 31 years.

The 'Benefactor of the Fatherland' looked after his people with hospitals, roads and some education. Trujillo also looked after Trujillo to the tune of \$800 million at the expense of 1,000 political refugees whom he put to death in police cells. In 1937 he murdered 15,000 Haitian squatters.

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BOSCH FOUGHT A LOSING BATTLE

The Dominican military has always been the military and political power behind Dominica's 'Thrones'. The boss at the moment is General Wessin y Wessin. A devout Catholic with a pathological hatred of Communism (which means any shade of leftist thinking). In 1963 Wessin staged a bloodless coup against the elected President Juan

Bosch and sent him to prison. According to Wessin, Bosch was a Communist. Juan Bosch was President in the December 1962. His party, the Dominican Revolutionary Party, won 62 per cent of the vote in the first election since 1920. From the very beginning Bosch fought a losing battle against the combined forces of the Press, the Army and the land interests owned by the thugs. Bosch's policy was liberal reform, obvious reaction for Wessin and the reaction.

After Bosch was ousted, a triumvirate took over the country. Calbral. This set-up was backed by Wessin, but not by the people of Dominica. In 1965, the uprising began to restore Bosch to the throne. Reid resigned and went into exile. General Wessin took over and a counter-revolutionary pro-Wessin junta.

MARINES MOVE IN

Bitter fighting took place on Wednesday, April 21, when marines landed in Dominica to protect American property. On Saturday, May 8, the US Airborne went into a battle with the rebels, US forces killed twelve wounded, so 2,000 troops were sent in bringing to 7,000 men to protect *property and lives*.

7,000 men are a lot to protect property even in a small island. In an attempt to justify her actions a meeting of the Organisation of American States was called. Usually the Organisation of American States is a master, sometimes a servant, but eventually, under pressure, they do. The official representatives of the American States have either deplored US action or defended it. The US obtained a bare majority but only on the condition that the unilateral US action in the Dominican Republic be approved by an inter-American body to maintain unified control.

President Johnson has publicly admitted the reason for 21,800 troops in the Dominican Republic is to prevent a Communist takeover.

ANARCHIST FRINGE TO BATH FESTIVAL SUMMER CAMP PLANNED

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The third election in a British protectorate was very recently in Basutoland, a country surrounded by South Africa. Here the country was practically equally divided between the pro-South African National Party of 'traditionalists' and the Pan Africanist Congress Party. The National Party's overall majority is only one.

Clyde Sanger writing in the *Guardian* (5.5.65) asserts: 'Now that the Pan African Congress Party has been defeated South Africa expects to establish easy-

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The present writer has seen terrible poverty in the lovely country of Swaziland where illness is generally on the increase instead of being sensibly combated. One only had to glance at the misery and poverty in a Swaziland township, to appreciate the motive behind this treatment. Neither Britain nor South Africa, for financial reasons, want strong independent countries near to South Africa.

The fourth election in Southern Africa, happily boycotted by the African people, in Rhodesia returned Mr. Smith's Rhodesian Front Party with a large majority. Writing editorially on the day the electors went to the polls in Rhodesia, the *Daily Telegraph* stated: 'It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Mr. Smith's tactics are to manoeuvre the Rhodesian whites into a position where there seems to be no escape between defying Britain, the Commonwealth and most of the world, or surrendering to black anarchy tomorrow.'

It could be however that Mr. Smith has created a position where 'black anarchy' is the only cry that the African people of Rhodesia will listen to. It might surprise him if the African people did not only understand the word anarchy as a synonym of chaos. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the solution to the problems of South and Central Africa is not political independence, but economic independence. This, in turn, means ownership and control of the land and industry by the people who will rightfully inherit it. To the politically aware this is best described as black anarchy tomorrow.

J.W.

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In addition a Libertarian Summer Camp will be held from June 9-20 on a farm just outside Bath, to coincide with the Festival. It is hoped that as many comrades as possible will come down for the Camp, and support the fringe. Accommodation for the camp will be under canvas, but is strictly limited, so comrades intending to come should write immediately to Adam Nicholson, c/o 39 Freemantle Road, Redland, Bristol 6.

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WE regret to have some increases in rates.

1. To cover increased coming into force M subs. will be from J Combined FREEDOM subscription £22 FREEDOM only £12 ANARCHY only £16
2. Apart from this in have risen and we for some time that shown in weekly figures as Expenses (£70) present-day costs; year's figures th

ANARCHY 51

DISCUSSES

The Blues Pop Jazz R'n'B

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 2s. on the first Saturday of every month

Protectors of Law and Order

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After Bosch was ousted, a civilian triumvirate took over led by Reid Calbral. This set-up was fully backed by Wessin, but not by the people of Dominica. On April 24, 1965, the uprising began in an effort to restore Bosch to the Presidency. Reid resigned and went into hiding, General Wessin took over as the counter-revolutionary leader of a pro-Wessin junta.

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7,000 men are a lot of troops to protect property even by American standards. In an attempt to justify her actions a meeting of the Organisation of American States was called. Usually OAS obey their American master, sometimes reluctantly, but eventually, after economic pressure, they do. This time the official representatives of twenty American States have condemned or deplored US action in Dominica. The US obtained a bare two-thirds majority but only on the agreement that the unilateral US presence in the Dominican Republic be replaced by an inter-American force under unified control.

President Johnson has now publicly admitted that the main reason for 21,800 troops in the Dominican Republic is the danger of a Communist take-over. *Like*

According to the *Sunday Times* (9.5.65), Henry Brandon reporting from Washington states: 'Some token withdrawal of American Marines will be ordered as soon as the first contingents of police or troops from other Latin American States arrive'.

Reading between the lines this could mean that a large force of American troops will stay to ensure that Caamano's government does not take office. Of course this cannot be counted as interference in the internal affairs of another country, just plain bloody aggression.

Where does the British Government stand? Lying quietly at Johnson's *benevolent* heel. Johnson has dispensed with the lead, the British Government is sufficiently obedient to 'come to heel'.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

MARINES NOT KILLERS

LIBERALS IN THE United States, these days, are in the unenviable position of apologizing for the most unpopular war in which this country was ever embroiled. Their humiliating predicament of course follows logically from their irrational belief that the State produces Order, Prosperity, and, most strangely of all the supposed state-born qualities, Morality. Liberals pathetically cling to the notion that the State somehow insures a higher level of public morality than that which would obtain without the State and its agencies of control.

Many good-hearted and kind people persistently refuse to accept the fact that the State produces poverty and war. The subsequent by-product of both is violence and immorality. The womb of the State is perpetually pregnant with violence. Violence is all that the State can breed; its 'Order' is but the after-birth of its violence.

The latest large scale American adventure in South Vietnam offers proof of this anarchist principle every day. But the public is not

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As usual the saviours of western democracy have deliberately got 'their wires crossed'.

The situation in the Dominican Republic is critical. Colonel Caamano elected provisional president of the Dominica Legislature (Bosch supporter) will have nothing to do with the new Junta which includes two generals and three civilians. Caamano claims his Government is capable of controlling the country.

MARINES NOT KILLERS

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A sergeant is also quoted in the same story as follows: 'This is a tough war, but don't think we are killers. We are Marines.'

B.M.

AN AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT.

VERY SORRY, BUT . . .

WE regret to have to announce some increases in subscription rates.

1. To cover increased postage rates coming into force May 17, inland subs. will be from June 1, 1965:

Combined FREEDOM/ANARCHY subscription £2 2s. 0d. per year
FREEDOM only £1 2s. 6d. per year
ANARCHY only £1 6s. 0d. per year

2. Apart from this increase, costs have risen and we have known for some time that the figure shown in weekly financial state as Expenses (£70) falls short of present-day costs; even on last year's figures the expenses

amounted to £76, and this year additional typesetting costs have to be added to this, so the current figure is £80.

We are not at present putting up

the price of the paper but we shall have to do so at the end of the year unless sales go up.

To encourage new subscriptions we are introducing immediately an introductory Gift Subscription at reduced rate. Send us 5/- and the name of a friend you think might be interested and we will send both FREEDOM and ANARCHY for two months.

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 Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
 Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Whirlwind

Long Live Peggy Duff

IT IS NOT Peggy Duff alone whom we must thank, for she has able supporters, but more than any other well-known figure she is to be thanked for the part she is playing in the extension of the anarchist movement of this country.

I know that some other comrades will not share my enthusiasm for her. Jack Stevenson, writing in *Peace News*, comments that the large number of people who have been projected into the arms of the anarchists, so to speak—'are not anarchists though we hope that one day they will become so'. Possibly Jack Stevenson knows what he is talking about, but I would be chary of deciding that anyone was not an anarchist solely on the grounds that he acted like a damned fool on a certain occasion. As I see it, we have a totally new phenomenon appearing in this country, a phenomenon which would have utterly amazed the older anarchists of a few years ago, a thousand or so people walking through the streets of London with anarchist banners, and publicly reviling figures of the semi-pacifist Labour Party like Peggy Duff! Let us not minimise the importance of such an historical event in Britain.

Having said, 'Long live Peggy Duff', let me hastily dissociate myself from the revolutionary doctrine of what may be called 'provocatism'. I do not welcome oppression so that its antithesis will result from it. But Peggy Duff is an all too real living phenomenon, and her public antics are a real education for the uncommitted young people of to-

day. It was humorously suggested in *FREEDOM* recently that Peggy should be given a cabinet seat with the job of controlling dissident elements. But, as Labour is in power, the dissident elements cannot be controlled as when the Tories were in the saddle. A year ago there was the cry that radical action should be played down as it would harm the Labour Party's chances to oust the Tories. I am sure that many of the young people who now crowd behind anarchist banners were working in the cause of the Labour Party last autumn. But now what are they to do?

The Communist Party, like the Catholic Church, is always there and is still the most virulent menace on the Left; but somehow it has never quite recovered from the post-Stalinist debacle, even though those now of YCL age are too young to have known the worst at first hand. There are the handful of moribund little political parties, each avid for new membership, but they are mostly a bureaucracy without a rank and file, having nothing to offer new members except the honour and glory of joining the bureaucracy. And what have the anarchists to offer?

'We are opposed to spontaneous demonstrations by people who don't have the background of anarchist theory and rational thinking to make a success of them'.

This from J. Stevenson and P. Turner in *Peace News*! All people who write, write a deal of nonsense at one time or another, and I suggest this be credited to the peck of dirt which these two writers must swallow before they die.

ROUND THE GALLERIES

AND AS I was saying, it is fashionable, and rightly so, to mock the yearly Royal Academy Summer Exhibition, yet too much of the laughter is soured by rejection and by the disappointment that we are not among the strutting or blushing daubers having their brief and meaningless moment of public acclaim. 1,613 works on public exhibition form a ratbag of talent and minor competence that harm no one by its public exposure before they begin their swift crawl to the limbo of some private wall within some private house. What demands and deserves our mockery is the fact that this occasion is used as a reason for a public display by the Art Establishment and the whole of the armament of these peacock feathered roosters is thrown into this battle from the public dinner, the press and TV coverage, the funny hats, the tail coats, the portrait of the Queen and the Picture of the Year. It is all here with Anderson's portrait of the Queen in a second rate Annigoni style of magazine art. Inshaw's 74976 pop art canvas hanging above the line like a grey flag of surrender and the gutless abstract stillborn within the Kasmin Bond Street Gallery still fulfilling their predetermined role of with-it wallpaper. And the painting of the year is here with John Bratby's (ARA) 'Golgotha' or 'Eloi, Eloi, Lama Sabachthani'.

comic greeting card, his painting splays across its conquered wall space as a pathetic and futile gesture on the part of the Royal Academy to prove that they are now part of the scene and all they have succeeded in doing is to participate in providing a poster for the film 'The Greatest Story Ever Told', for each can match the other in banality and bad taste.

The Academy attempted to prove to an indifferent public that the world of experimental art, of the avant garde and the off beat, would be accepted within their walls and they threw open their massive doors and no one came in. There were no fires burning in the distant hills, no rebels crouching wild eyed and ready to rush the turnstiles, no genius pleading for admission while his sweating wife staggered along Cork Street beneath the weight of a latter day Leonardo, only Bratby with his comic strip trotting to the wall of honour while hastily unrolled the red carpet. It took no courage on the part of the Hanging Committee to accept this work, for Bratby as author, painter and public personality, has long ago seeped into the public imagery, but it would have required courage on the part of the Academy to have rejected this work and this was the courage that they lacked for these drear little men could no more fly

Likewise, I would have the sp... who have the sp... human worth... demonstrations... headed and muc... time.

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Collage but fo... Lablache's bleak... fixation darkly fl... pool of shadows... point to Bratby's... there is work b... your attention in... a beautiful portra... class with its e... thirties. James... Sir Charles Whee... ings that catch i... world within the... township. Hepple... churned out to... Marines, shows... and a lack of p... a touch of reality... artifice. But wit... there are two p... very craftsmanship... walls.

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Here is Gunn... whole shabby fa... portrait of this... weight of his of... with a practiced... the twisted boo... heavy cloak to t... has added anothe... the stage of our... is an old man v... within the stream... strut the stage... drolls or tread... grotesques, a

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Bratby has now dived, feet first, into the acceptance world and loving every minute and here is his card of acceptance. Dominating by painted area, though not by talent, is Bratby's version of the crucifixion. Like unto a monstrous

comic greeting card, his painting splays across its conquered wall space as a pathetic and futile gesture on the part of the Royal Academy to prove that they are now part of the scene and all they have succeeded in doing is to participate in providing a poster for the film 'The Greatest Story Ever Told', for each can match the other in banality and bad taste.

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London Anarchist Group

"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2 (near Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m.
All welcome

SUNDAYS

MAY 16 (prob) Martin Ennals
Civil Liberties.

MAY 23 Digger Walsh
Report on 'That March'.

MAY 30 Ira Klein
CARD (Campaign Against Racial Discrimination).

HYDE PARK MEETINGS

As from April 25 (Sunday), 3 p.m.

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary N.H.A.G., Flat 3, 5 Colville House, London, W.11. Meetings 2nd and 4th Thursday of each month at above address.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Rd., S.W.6 (off King's Rd.), 8 p.m.
Last Thursday in month: At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.
2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Ames-

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-ordinating Secretary: Frank Hirshfield, 4 Albert St., London, N.W.1.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Details of meetings from Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, B'ham, 23.

BRISTOL FEDERATION. Regular fortnightly meetings. Details from Ian Vine, 3 Freeland Place, Hotwell, Bristol, 8.

CAMBRIDGE ANARCHIST GROUP.

Contact V. Madge, Newnham College.

DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Mike Mallet, 20 South George Street, Dundee. Meetings Saturdays 2.30 p.m.

EDINBURGH ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence Secretary: Douglas Truman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, 3. Meetings every alternate Monday at above 7.30 p.m.

bury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

3rd Saturday of each month at Sid and Pat Parker's, 2 Orsett Terrace (off Gloucester Terrace), Paddington, W.2, 8 p.m. (Please ring second bell from top.)

GLASGOW A

Correspondence: 11 Baliol Street, Meetings at Home Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER

meetings held. Alan Barlow, 23 o' the Heights,

OFF-CENTRE

Every Wednesday York Road, Man

MERSEYSIDE

Enquiries: Barba Road, Devonsh

ORPINGTON

Knockholt, Nr. six weeks at

Phone: Knock Maureen Richar

OXFORD ANA

tact H. G. M Oxford.

SOUTH WALE

held. Enquire Pursefield Place,

SURREY ANA

meetings on the month at Chris Street, Carshalto three times) and every month at M Sutton, Surrey.

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MORE ON THAT M

Likewise, I would suggest that people
who have the spirit, the sense, and the
human worth to make spontaneous
demonstrations will make a few hot-
headed and muddled mistakes in their
time.

But let it not be suggested that they
wait until they've done their homework
on Godwin, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Mala-
testa, etc., before they have a bash at
civil riot and commotion! What non-
sense is this? We normally have a
punch-up with the boss first and then
theorize about the nature of society
after: we take our first girl behind a
hedge in feverish haste, and then we
learn all about the theory of sexual
freedom in learned books. All this I
write in the full knowledge that riot and
commotion are not anarchism, and that
blowing raspberries at Peggy Duff does
not constitute a reasoned exposé of the
fallacy of Labour Party politics. I know
too, that as movements grow in breadth
they can become shallower in depth, but
not as futile, I suggest, as those tiny
organizations which mean nothing out-
side the initiated few.

If I criticise Stevenson and Turner for
their attitude in this matter, I do so fully
acknowledging the validity of their
general concern that there shall be a
movement of discussion, education and
organization in anarchism, actively in

operation so that when the Peggy Duffs
of this world outrage common sense to
the point of protest, that protest shall be
directed into constructive channels. But
we were all 'absolute beginners' once, and
the waving of red-and-black flags in the
street is an activity which has my full,
unqualified support. More power to their
elbows!

London, N.

TONY GIBSON.

Hairy Cretins?

Dear Friend,

Having, like many, gone through CND
and pacifism to anarchism, I have re-
cently found myself reluctant to accept
even this label. If I regard the individual
as of supreme value I can identify myself
with no group as this means I cease to
identify myself or concern myself with
those individuals outside the group as
much as I do with those within. Out of
concern with truthfulness I can ally my-
self to no -ism. And while I reject
authority I realise the existence of the
state reflects the attitude of many, and
so to think one can cast it down, or con-
vince governments to act morally as they
are governed principally by expediency,
by marching, sitting or showing under red-
and-black banners, though rather roman-
tic is a bit potty. However, this Easter
Monday my reluctance was greatly in-
creased by those on the CND march who
did accept the label by marching with
the anarchist contingent. I know it's a
great thrill to play at being dead revolu-
tionary by mucking the coppers about,
and a mass of blue probably makes me
see black-and-red as much as anyone else.
But what, for Christ's sake, do the clots
who start marching backwards, push
through police cordons and burn Union
Jacks want to achieve by this? Does
this action have any point at all? At the
Committee of 100 demonstration at Great
Smith Street last Easter, and that at
Downing Street this year, a load of
frenzied twits shouted and pushed, and
said, 'Let's go to the Houses of Parlia-
ment!' To blow it up? And as if
power resided there, and not in Whitehall
where we were this year. The whole
thing just seemed like some sort of
anarchoid game. The participants looked
in the main like professional revolution-
aries who probably couldn't actually
live anarchistically.

This Easter Monday Peter Cadogan,
after making a speech of far more im-
pact and interest than the ones at
Trafalgar Square, which, apart from
references to Vietnam, were identical to
those at all the Easter rallies I've been
to, passed round a loud-hailer for people
to put their points of view on possible
courses of action. We even had an Irish
Communist and a Metropolitan Police
Officer speaking. Only, most of the
times the latter opened his mouth—to
inform us we were in contravention of
the Commissioner's instructions (yet only
ten were arrested and charged)—he was
drowned in a hail of boos. So much for

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ARTHUR MOYSE.

and-black banners, though rather romantic is a bit potty. However, this Easter Monday my reluctance was greatly increased by those on the CND march who did accept the label by marching with the anarchist contingent. I know it's a great thrill to play at being dead revolutionary by mucking the coppers about, and a mass of blue probably makes me see black-and-red as much as anyone else. But what, for Christ's sake, do the clots who start marching backwards, push through police cordons and burn Union Jacks want to achieve by this? Does this action have any point at all? At the Committee of 100 demonstration at Great Smith Street last Easter, and that at Downing Street this year, a load of frenzied twits shouted and pushed, and said, 'Let's go to the Houses of Parliament!' To blow it up? And as if power resided there, and not in Whitehall where we were this year. The whole thing just seemed like some sort of anarchoid game. The participants looked in the main like professional revolutionaries who probably couldn't actually live anarchistically.

This Easter Monday Peter Cadogan, after making a speech of far more impact and interest than the ones at Trafalgar Square, which, apart from references to Vietnam, were identical to those at all the Easter rallies I've been to, passed round a loud-hailer for people to put their points of view on possible courses of action. We even had an Irish Communist and a Metropolitan Police Officer speaking. Only, most of the times the latter opened his mouth—to inform us we were in contravention of the Commissioner's instructions (yet only ten were arrested and charged)—he was drowned in a hail of boos. So much for anarchist respect for freedom of speech.

STUART CHRISTIE STILL HAS 1,005 WEEKS TO DO. WHAT ARE YOU DOING?

Anarchist Group

g", Rose Street, Covent (near Garrick and King Square tube), 7.45 p.m. All welcome

b) Martin Ennals

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t March'.

Klein
ign Against Racial Dis-

MEETINGS

25 (Sunday), 3 p.m.

HULL ANARCHIST
etary N.H.A.G., Flat 3,
ouse, London, W.11.
nd 4th Thursday of each
e address.

THE LONDON MEETINGS

of each month at Jack
Mary Canipa's, 21 Rum-
(off King's Rd.), 8 p.m.
in month: At George
Leod Road, S.E.2.
ian Leslie's, 242 Ames-

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-ordinating Secretary: Frank Hirsh-
field, 4 Albert St., London, N.W.1.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.
Details of meetings from Peter Neville,
12 South Grove, Erdington, B'ham, 23.

BRISTOL FEDERATION. Regular
fortnightly meetings. Details from Ian
Vine, 3 Freeland Place, Hotwell, Bristol,
8.

CAMBRIDGE ANARCHIST GROUP.
Contact V. Madge, Newnham College.

DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Mike
Mallet, 20 South George Street, Dundee.
Meetings Saturdays 2.30 p.m.

EDINBURGH ANARCHIST GROUP.
Correspondence Secretary: Douglas
Truman, 13 Northumberland Street,
Edinburgh, 3. Meetings every alternate
Monday at above 7.30 p.m.

bury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill,
Nr. Station).

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at
Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows
Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

3rd Saturday of each month at Sid and
Pat Parker's, 2 Orsett Terrace (off Glou-
cester Terrace), Paddington, W.2, 8 p.m.
(Please ring second bell from top.)

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.

Correspondence: Joe Embleton, top Left,
11 Baliol Street, Glasgow.

Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street,
Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER GROUP. Fortnightly
meetings held. For information contact
Alan Barlow, 25a Duffield Road, Irlam
o' the Heights, Salford, 6.

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION GROUP.
Every Wednesday at Jack Geraghty's, 8
York Road, Manchester, 21.

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION.
Enquiries: Barbara Renshaw, 4 Clarence
Road, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead,
Cheshire.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP.
Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every
six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt.
Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and
Maureen Richardson.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Con-
tact H. G. Mellor, Merton College,
Oxford.

SOUTH WALES. Irregular meetings
held. Enquire Peter H. Morgan, 15
Pursefield Place, Roath, Cardiff.

SURREY ANARCHISTS are invited to
meetings on the first Thursday of every
month at Chris Torrance's (63 North
Street, Carshalton, Surrey—please ring
three times) and on the 3rd Thursday of
every month at M. Dykes, 8 Court Drive,
Sutton, Surrey. Both meetings 7.30 p.m.

PROPOSED GROUPS

EDGWARE-ELSTREE and District.
Planning discussion meetings and activi-
ties. Contact Colin Seal, 8 Oakwood
Drive, Edgware or Anthony Frewin, 31
Burghley Avenue, Boreham Wood.

THANET. For information contact
Peter Davey, 14 Fitzmary Avenue, West-
brook, Margate, Kent.

NOTTINGHAM. Anyone interested
contact Peter Bowden, Flat 2, 11 Rec-
tory Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.
**SOUTH BEDS., NORTH HERTS.,
HITCHIN, LETCHWORTH, BIGGLES-
WADE, BEDFORD.** Anyone interested
forming a group contact Peter and
Maureen Ford, 102 Stotfold Road,
Arlesey, Beds.

NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Close to W.
Suffolk, S.E. Cambs. and N.E. Herts.
Contact Robert Barltrop, The Old
Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron
Walden.

HULL & YORKSHIRE (East Riding).
Anyone interested in forming anarchist
group contact R. A. Baker, 6 The Oval,
Chestnut Avenue, Willerby, E. Yorks.
Phone: Hull 58543.

SUNDERLAND (Co. Durham). Pro-
posed Anarchist Discussion Group. (Syn-
dicalists welcome) at Geoff. Edwards,
'Side House', St. George's Terrace, Roker,
Sunderland, Co. Durham.

The intolerance—a form of authoritarianism, surely—of these so-called anarchists was pretty depressing. Someone, who, after abortive attempts to speak through the loud-hailer found his own voice-box to be louder and more efficient, said that we had no quarrel with the police as such, and that underneath their helmets they were no different from us. They were, after all, people. At this point in the proceedings, opposition cries of incredulity: 'Like Franco?' (Ah! The old hobby-horse!) 'Like Hitler!' 'People don't join the Police Force.' Yes, after all, all coppers *are* bastards. It stands to reason — they're all like Franco and Hitler, neither of whom are human. We must hate them. Like the Nigs. Like the Yids. Like the Reds. So much for the different attitude of anarchists. Why because men rather taller than the average support the status quo because they haven't thought about it in the way that makes one an anarchist, and are doing as they're told in a job that supports the status quo, should they cease to be people and our concern? If they aren't people then of course soldiers aren't; nor politicians; nor armaments workers; nor civil servants; nor taxpayers. Hooray for us anarchists—the only *real* people! So the wheel has come full circle: many anarchists, it seems, have the same intolerance, attitudes of group-thinking and desire to solve difficult problems by violence as those they oppose. Just imagine it: the Anarchist Millenium with the Stirnerites shooting it out with the Bakuninites. Last year at Great Smith Street someone suggested taking a vote. So much for anarchy. Inconsistencies this Easter Monday were equally evident. One man who had the loud-hailer launched into a not-very-interesting or original sermon on anarchism and individualism, but what this rugged individualist was doing in a crowd of 300-odd, and 20,000 (BBC new estimate) in Trafalgar Square he didn't make clear. There were people who acted alone and independently of the mass, like the first person who plonked himself very definitely down in front of the police cordon, and the one who announced his intention of going through the cordon to see Harold Wilson. (He and the others who demanded to see Wilson would have been in for a long walk as the Rt. Hon. Gent. was in the Scilly Isles at the time.) Then with great acclaim people started pushing the crowd forward to go through the cordon. When they were stopped and one man was invited to step through a gangway that we made for him he just looked sheepish. His reluctance to act alone may be attributed to the fact that it was he—I think—who piously protested against the Commissioner's regulations that this was a democracy.

What proportion of the demonstrators were anarchists one can't be sure, but judging from the abundance of anarchist banners—and anarchist *badges* even! Wow, let's have an Anarchist Party!—and the fact that most people who spoke to the crowd announced themselves as such, it was probably pretty high—per-

strike me as having decided on a particularly meaningful course. If anyone can justify action for action's sake or protest for protest's sake, I'd like to hear them do so. For God's sake, let's not deceive ourselves that by making our feet sore or by getting piles we're one jot nearer changing those attitudes in ourselves and others that make possible the present society. And let's not kid ourselves either that there's any short cut to anarchy. If we can't change people's attitudes, or if we can't somehow make it possible for them to develop freely and responsibly then we've got to admit that we've had it as far as society is concerned. I'm sorry, friends, but if people don't want responsibility, if they bring violence to every situation they can't deal with any other way, if they dress in blue and form cordons or if they try and break through them to see Mr. Wilson in the Scilly Isles, then anarchy is a dream. If it *is* a dream it doesn't mean we have to 'join 'em' and that we have to cease trying to behave anarchistically, simply that we have to recognise it as such. Most anarchists, I'm afraid, go in for short cuts because it means that being an anarchist is more fun; making oneself a potential citizen of utopia and trying to encourage responsibility and independence in others isn't half as exciting as having fun and games with the cops.

If readers will excuse the insult, when I came across the bunch of hairy cretins in the anarchist contingent and at Downing Street this year—I apologise to the many who were neither cretinous nor particularly hairy—I marvelled greatly and bethought me, 'Are these the people who are going to run society on anarchist lines?' If you can judge by appearances and behaviour, most of the people under the red-and-black banners and at Downing Street gave the impression that their anarchism amounted to little more than, 'I march backwards and set fire to Union Jacks when I fucking well like!'

Yours sincerely,

Stanmore

MARSHALL COLMAN.

AS TECHNICAL ABILITY to communicate, via space satellite, improved, the utter failure of mankind to communicate became more obvious, and the items communicated became more trivial.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON altered his concern about American citizens in Dominica to a concern about communism in the Western hemisphere; Mr. Shastri halted fighting against Pakistan without a cease-fire, and George Brown made his intentions clear on steel to Woodrow Wyatt, without communicating to the rest of the Labour Party. Some success seems to have been achieved by 'inertia selling', that is, by firms sending goods and assuming failure to communicate as proof of a sale, it is not known if this can be adapted to capturing foreign markets. . . .

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Cream. The 'sand of Plexiglas and sand-paper' was the Supreme Court he showed 'happy actors ice-cream that is in The FTC has now saying that General Owens-Ford in some showed a happy model distortion-free glass was no glass in the new advertising age in Russia—with the catchier slogans, more brighter advertising

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AT 11 A.M. we were gathered together at an open air meeting organised by Liverpool Trades Council, in order to participate in the customary May Day

THERE WAS A four mile march, of about fifty people, on Salisbury from Porton on Sunday, May 9. This was preceded by a picket at Porton and followed by a public meeting in Salisbury Market Square from 12-3 p.m. At the meeting further plans of the campaign were announced.

Over Whitsun there will be a 48-hour fast to call attention to the necessity of converting Porton Research Establishment entirely to peaceful purposes. You are invited to join in from 12 noon, June 5, at Porton.

There will be transport from London
(phone Archway 1239)

festivities. The idea was that a demonstration would set off at noon. Speeches were made by revolutionary members of the Labour Party tentatively suggesting that perhaps our Harold was not the Socialist we had all thought him to be. But everyone agreed what a grand Party was the Labour Party. The police were rather belligerent in general and rather offensive in particular to Comrade Vincent. Rumours casting doubts on the demonstration had been circulating. But it was cold and at 12 noon we lined up, Anarchist banner to the fore. Support seemed good, all seemed well, we started off.

As is usual on such occasions, little men with megaphones were marshalling us all. Pausing behind a bus, it was seen that the police had selected one of these and were fiercely intimidating him. He was told that if he did not stop the march he would have to answer to the police. Meanwhile at the front of the demonstration attempts were being made

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ON SATURDAY comrades marching from the Communist Party's training centre of Elstow, Bedfordshire, to the Hertfordshire Battle of Britain Memorial Way. Leaflets distributed explained that it was for those selected to serve in the armed forces.

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There will be transport from London (phone Archway 1239).

On September 11, 1965, there will be a large-scale demonstration at Porton. Groups and individuals all over the country are asked to join in the publicity campaign throughout the coming months and to help in planning the demonstration on September 11.

J.R.

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As is usual on such occasions, little men with megaphones were marshalling us all. Pausing behind a bus, it was seen that the police had selected one of these and were fiercely intimidating him. He was told that if he did not stop the march he would have to answer to the police. Meanwhile at the front of the demonstration attempts were being made to pull down the posters and to obstruct those demonstrating. The ratio of them to us was, however, 20:1 in our favour so we continued to the fervent shout of 'Freedom to march'. By this time the YCL and Labour YS had, of course, left us.

We toddled up the main street shouting, vociferously, unmolested for some time, when we were again stopped. In some disorder, we were persuaded down a minor road. We soon realised that this was not where we wished to go. The demonstrators turned in an effort to regain our former route. At this juncture the police turned nasty. Violent attempts were made to halt the leaders. The police wrestled with those carrying posters. Two of them then seized the luckless marshal mentioned earlier, a member of a break-away YS group, later charging him. All was of no avail; risking arrest, the demonstrators did turn, did succeed in gaining the main road. But here the impetus was lost. We stopped. We turned. After various suggestions of re-forming as a poster parade or whatever, we broke up unceremoniously.

Possibly the demonstration did not inspire the onlookers; it may well have had an adverse effect on our image. Important points, however, did emerge. This was the first occasion in a very long time that 'revolutionaries' in Liverpool had experienced police brutality in Liverpool. Solidarity with the young man arrested was sincerely expressed when the demonstrators carried on in support of his action. The Anarchists made their position clear; so too did the young communists. And our Direct Action met with a considerable degree

of success. We d march a fair way t demonstrators an interested spectat proved decisive. these more positiv that our little de viewed.

ELSTREE

ON SATURDAY comrades marc ping centre of Elst and mysterious marked 'US Navy Hertfordshire Battl the junction of Ma Way. Leaflets di explained that it those selected to su Those present i claimed to be from sion News, who t strators and asked questions. Since a local ITN office d Officer knew not seems that at any Special Branch.

Further activitie Middlesex and out If interested, writ Burns Avenue, So Tony Frewin, 31 Elstree, Herts.

PRESS

FINANCIAL STA WEEK 18, MAY Expenses: 18 w Income: Sales

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'Dimbleby Had Six-Fold Echo'—Daily Telegraph

AS TECHNICAL ABILITY to communicate, via space satellite, improved, the utter failure of mankind to communicate became more obvious, and the items communicated became more trivial.

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Cream. The 'sand-paper' was a mixture of Plexiglas and sand. It was just that sand-paper was unphotogenic. The Supreme Court held that it was fair to show 'happy actors delightedly eating ice-cream that is in fact mashed potatoes'. The FTC has now issued an order charging that General Motors and Libbey-Owens-Ford in some joint advertisements showed a happy motorist looking through distortion-free glass when actually there was no glass in the windscreen. Three new advertising agencies are to be set up in Russia—with the aim of producing catchier slogans, more neon lights, and a brighter advertising image. . . .

NEWSWEEK DESCRIBED A PAINTING of Abraham Lincoln reading the Bible to his son Tad. A correspondent wrote to point out that 100 years ago Abraham Lincoln had said, 'this picture was a species of false pretence' since he was not showing his son the Bible, but a large clasped photograph album. A Herr Erich von Richthofen from Newton Abbot, Devon wrote to the *Daily Telegraph* pointing out that as an ex-officer of the Wehrmacht serving on the General Staff in 1934 said that from personal knowledge Hitler was convinced by the Oxford resolution on 'the refusal to fight for King and Country' that Britain would not fight, an additional factor, says Herr von Richthofen, was the peace pledge, which, we were told had been signed 'by more than 11 million people'. A Miss Sybil Morrison (chairman of the Peace Herr Richthofen was confusing the Peace Ballot of 1934 with the Peace Pledge. The former was a series of questions by the League of Nations Union which voted by six to two million, for example, for enforcement of collective security by military means. Only 11 million out of a population of 48 million voted at all. . . .

THE PROPOSAL merely to debate the notorious Oxford resolution again, this time 'that this house would not fight for Queen and country' led to a spate of abuse and a trickle of resignations. Abuse from the Ku Klux Klan and from Sir David Lindsay Keir, Master of Balliol College and an Oxford Union Trustee who said: 'I also disapprove most strongly. This is a most unhappy and disgraceful episode in the Union's history. . . . I have served my country, and I object to being told what to do by someone who comes from a country which has no allegiance to the Crown.' (The President of the Union is a Pakistani.) 'If we allow it (the resolution) to pass we might have to take advice from Eskimos and Hottentots.'

JOHN O'NEAL of the Free Southern Theatre, playing 'Lucky' in *Waiting for Godot* in New York was arrested by the FBI for failure to respond to a call-up for the draft. He is a Negro, and the theatre was founded to give the Negroes the words and concepts to create their own language and through that their own society. 'In regard to what people have to learn to function in a democratic society, the kind of thoughts we want to elicit are the kind necessary for anyone to create society,' said one of the members of the company. 'Before the civil rights movement, society in the South was manipulated from one side. It was feudal and futile. . . . This theatre is turning back within the Negro community to help develop (these) patterns of thought. . . . We want somehow to provide an atmosphere in which people can speak for themselves. What we want to do is different from the propagandists, from the Negro playwright who is not running a workshop in Harlem. Negroes don't read James Baldwin, whites do. We want to help Negroes strive to join society.' . . .

WAKEFIELD TRADE COUNCIL held a debate with members of the town debating society in the local prison. The subject, chosen by the prisoners, was, 'that the closed shop is an affront to personal liberty'.

JON QUIXOTE.

y in Liverpool

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ORTON

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of success. We did march and we did march a fair way through town. To the demonstrators and, to some extent, those interested spectators—Direct Action had proved decisive. It is, therefore, with these more positive outcomes in mind that our little demonstration must be viewed.

BRENDA MERCER.

ELSTREE DEMO

ON SATURDAY, May 8 about 15 comrades marched through the shopping centre of Elstree, Herts., to a large and mysterious installation officially marked 'US Navy Garage' (where the Hertfordshire Battle Fleet is parked?), at the junction of Manor Way and Elstree Way. Leaflets distributed to shoppers explained that it was a food store for those selected to survive a nuclear war.

Those present included a man who claimed to be from Independent Television News, who took photos of demonstrators and asked a suspicious number of questions. Since a subsequent call to the local ITN office disclosed that the Duty

Contact Column

Room-Sharing. Manchester comrade at present in hospital seeks share of room or flat in London. Frank English, Fitzwilliam Ward, St. George's Hospital, Knightbridge.

Pamphlets. On 'Human Communication'; 'A New Education for a New Age'; 'Social Dynamics'; 'The Sexual Revolution'; 'Cycles of Human Warfare', etc. Send s.a.e. for complete list, Box 10.

Pen Pal Wanted. Prefer fellow college 22-year-old male. Exchange comments on R and R, Negro Culture, Right-Wing Neuroses. Allen Koss, 5147 N. Spaulding, Chicago, Ill. 60645, USA.

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ners and at Down
pression that their
to little more than,
and set fire to Union
well like!"
cerely,
MARSHALL COLMAN.

lost weight through taking the pills when
they had actually been dieting. The US
Supreme Court agreed seven to two that
a television commercial must really do
what it claims to be doing. The Federal
Trade Commission had accused the
Colgate-Palmolive Co. and their adver-
tising agency of hoodwinking the public
by showing imitation sand-paper being
'shaved' with the aid of the 'super-
moisturizing power' of Rapid Shave

more than 11 million people. A Miss
Sybil Morrison (chairman of the Peace
Herr Richthofen was confusing the
Peace Ballot of 1934 with the Peace
Pledge. The former was a series of
questions by the League of Nations
Union which voted by six to two million,
for example, for enforcement of collec-
tive security by military means. Only
11 million out of a population of 48
million voted at all. . . .

...and routine. . . . This theatre is
turning back within the Negro com-
munity to help develop (these) patterns
of thought. . . . We want somehow to
provide an atmosphere in which people
can speak for themselves. What we want
to do is different from the propagandists,
from the Negro playwright who is not
running a workshop in Harlem. Negroes
don't read James Baldwin, whites do.
We want to help Negroes strive to join
society.' . . .

ay in Liverpool

re gathered together
meeting organised by
ouncil, in order to
ustomary May Day

ORTON

our mile march, of
t, on Salisbury from
May 9. This was
at Porton and fol-
lowing in Salisbury
12-3 p.m. At the
s of the campaign

There will be a 48-hour
to the necessity of
Research Establish-
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in from 12 noon,
support from London

1965, there will be
stration at Porton.
als all over the
join in the publicity
the coming months
g the demonstration

J.R.

RATURE

any Sunday

SUBSCRIBING !

MONTHLY

30c. by post)
y of each month.

(U.S. \$3.50)

r 47s. (\$7)

OM/ANARCHY:
nths 20s. (\$3)

1:
nths 31s. 6d. (\$4.50)

ar 65s. (\$9.50)

ress

AD,
ne: RENown 3736

Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

festivities. The idea was that a demon-
stration would set off at noon. Speeches
were made by revolutionary members of
the Labour Party tentatively suggesting
that perhaps our Harold was not the
Socialist we had all thought him to be.
But everyone agreed what a grand Party
was the Labour Party. The police were
rather belligerent in general and rather
offensive in particular to Comrade
Vincent. Rumours casting doubts on the
demonstration had been circulating. But
it was cold and at 12 noon we lined up,
Anarchist banner to the fore. Support
seemed good, all seemed well, we started
off.

As is usual on such occasions, little
men with megaphones were marshalling
us all. Pausing behind a bus, it was
seen that the police had selected one of
these and were fiercely intimidating him.
He was told that if he did not stop the
march he would have to answer to the
police. Meanwhile at the front of the
demonstration attempts were being made
to pull down the posters and to obstruct
those demonstrating. The ratio of them
to us was, however, 20:1 in our favour so
we continued to the fervent shout of
'Freedom to march'. By this time the
YCL and Labour YS had, of course,
left us.

We toddled up the main street shout-
ing, vociferously, unmolested for some
time, when we were again stopped. In
some disorder, we were persuaded down
a minor road. We soon realised that this
was not where we wished to go. The
demonstrators turned in an effort to
regain our former route. At this juncture
the police turned nasty. Violent attempts
were made to halt the leaders. The
police wrestled with those carrying
posters. Two of them then seized the
luckless marshal mentioned earlier, a
member of a break-away YS group, later
charging him. All was of no avail;
risking arrest, the demonstrators did turn,
did succeed in gaining the main road.
But here the impetus was lost. We
stopped. We turned. After various sug-
gestions of re-forming as a poster parade
or whatever, we broke up uncere-
moniously.

Possibly the demonstration did not
inspire the onlookers; it may well have
had an adverse effect on our image.
Important points, however, did emerge.
This was the first occasion in a very long
time that 'revolutionaries' in Liverpool
had experienced police brutality in
Liverpool. Solidarity with the young
man arrested was sincerely expressed
when the demonstrators carried on in
support of his action. The Anarchists
made their position clear; so too did
the young communists. And our Direct
Action met with a considerable degree

of success. We did march and we did
march a fair way through town. To the
demonstrators and, to some extent, those
interested spectators—Direct Action had
proved decisive. It is, therefore, with
these more positive outcomes in mind
that our little demonstration must be
viewed.

BRENDA MERCER.

ELSTREE DEMO

ON SATURDAY, May 8 about 15
comrades marched through the shop-
ping centre of Elstree, Herts., to a large
and mysterious installation officially
marked 'US Navy Garage' (where the
Hertfordshire Battle Fleet is parked?), at
the junction of Manor Way and Elstree
Way. Leaflets distributed to shoppers
explained that it was a food store for
those selected to survive a nuclear war.

Those present included a man who
claimed to be from Independent Televi-
sion News, who took photos of demon-
strators and asked a suspicious number of
questions. Since a subsequent call to the
local ITN office disclosed that the Duty
Officer knew nothing of this man, it
seems that at any rate we had rattled the
Special Branch.

Further activities are planned in the
Middlesex and outer West London area.
If interested, write to Roger Sandell, 58
Burns Avenue, Southall, Middlesex, or
Tony Frewin, 31 Burghley Avenue,
Elstree, Herts.

ROGER SANDELL.

PRESS FUND

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

WEEK 18, MAY 8, 1965:

Expenses: 18 weeks at £70: £1,260

Income: Sales and Subs.: £1,201

DEFICIT £59

Dereham: J.B. 17/-; Oxford: Anon* 10/-;
Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Belfast: W.G.
5/-; Peterborough: F.W. 5/6; Berkeley:
I.R. 13/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-;
J.L.* 3/-; Reading: H.P.T. 5/-; London,
S.E.23: K.B. 1/6; Austin: H.B. £1 9s. 5d.;
Red Deer: R.G. 14/-; Lincoln: A.B. 5/-;
London, N.4: A.S. 1/5; Hyde Park:
Anon 3/-.

TOTAL £9 9 4

Previously Acknowledged £423 12 0

1965 Total to date £433 1 4

Gift of Books: Hartfield: D. & O. M.
Correction of entry Week 16: Donation
wrongly acknowledged should have read:
Leeds: A.C. 12/-.

*Denotes regular contributors

WAKEFIELD TRADE COUNCIL held a debate
with members of the town debating
society in the local prison. The subject,
chosen by the prisoners, was, 'that the
closed shop is an affront to personal
liberty'.

JON QUIXOTE.

Contact Column

Room-Sharing. Manchester comrade at
present in hospital seeks share of
room or flat in London. Frank
English, Fitzwilliam Ward, St.
George's Hospital, Knightbridge.

Pamphlets. On 'Human Communication';
'A New Education for a New Age';
'Social Dynamics'; 'The Sexual Revo-
lution'; 'Cycles of Human Warfare',
etc. Send s.a.e. for complete list,
Box 10.

Pen Pal Wanted. Prefer fellow college
22-year-old male. Exchange com-
ments on R and R, Negro Culture,
Right-Wing Neuroses. Allen Koss,
5147 N. Spaulding, Chicago, Ill.
60645, USA.

New Progressive School. A new co-
educational day school, setting out
to provide a liberal education in a
permissive atmosphere invites enrol-
ments now for children 3½-8 for May
and 3½-13 for September. Write
186 Kirkdale, S.E.26.

To American Readers. Anarchist-Pacifist
Youth Rally June 11-14. At Mary-
land Line, Md. Near US Routes
83 and 30. For details write to:
Mutual Aid Fellowship, Box 3760,
Harbour Sta., E. Chicago, Indiana.

Lecture in Spanish. 'Spain in a Society
Without Class Distinction', Juan
P. Fabregas at Royal Hotel, Woburn
Place, W.C.1, May 16, 4 p.m.
'Mujeres Libres'.

Libertarian Kibbutz. Student looking for
one of these to work at in the
Summer. If anyone can recommend
one, either agricultural or industrial,
please tell George Matthews, c/o
University Union, Park Place, Edin-
burgh 8.

Accommodation—London. Anarchist 18,
seeks cheap accommodation with
others. West London preferred. Con-
tact A.M., 28 Sun Street, Haworth,
Keighley, Yorks.

London Accommodation. Couple and
son (two years) seek 2/3 unfurnished
rooms, North London. Box 8.

Bronia, Mac and Cat (N.H.A.G.). Want
a furnished (unfurnished) or semi-
furnished flat near Fulham or Pad-
dington. Any offers or suggestions.
Phone: McDonald, BAY 7306.
Evenings.

Intelligent, tolerant lady required to look
after two Anglo-Indian boys 3½ and
4½ and house—good accommodation
provided. Write Gill, 204 Stafford
Street, Walsall, Staffs.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

Ford Workers Want Hours Cut

PRODUCTION at the Ford Motor plant at Halewood, near Liverpool, came to a halt this week, when 500 press-shop men came out on unofficial strike. The men want their half-hour lunch break to be counted as part of the normal work shift. This would mean a 30 minutes cut in the working day, making it 7½ hours.

This claim has been before the management for some months. It is not something that has been sprung on them, but has gone through the joint Procedure Agreement. The 'Procedure' has now, at long last reached 'national level' and next week district officials will attend the meeting of the three unions involved, the Transport and General Workers Union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the National Union of General and Municipal Workers.

Of course the dispute meant that

other workers at the plant had to be laid off and a company spokesman said that 1,000 cars a day were being lost which were worth about £500,000.

UNION AGREEMENT AT REDUCED RATES

Unlike Ford's plant at Dagenham, where the employees are split up into 22 unions, there are only three at Halewood. In fact, before the plant opened up the AEU and NUGMW had already made an agreement with Fords for the sole rights to membership. This was not just another race in the membership stakes, for with it came an agreement to employ members at wage rates below those at other Ford plants. The factory opened with these rates in operation, but it wasn't long before the men decided they were not having it, so they banned overtime and defeated the

management-union carve-up. In the meantime the TGWU had got a foot in the door.

What becomes of the national level meeting remains to be seen. In the meantime the men are returning to work, but if this cut in hours could be gained it would represent quite a substantial improvement for them. It is not a matter of a 'few bob' which would disappear within a very short time in the price increases, but will give the men more time to themselves. A cut in hours cannot be swallowed up but remains permanent.

LEARN FROM THE '17

Although this show of militancy is a welcome sign that shop floor organisation is again on the mend, I feel we must nevertheless criticise certain aspects of it. When the men decided to return to work, they said they would come out again the next week if negotiations had not got

For W

MAY 15 1965

under way, and seek union support previous experience showing that the Ford 17 militants ago at Dagenham show that this line nowhere.

Since the war the even got as far as let alone gaining action. If this dis it will be won b selves. Let us stewards and the

**AEU N
POLICY**

ANARGHO-SYNDICALISM THE WORKERS' NEXT STEP 11

THE PATTERN OF SYNDICALISM

So far I have said little about the actual structure of Syndicalism. I have deliberately left this until now in order that all the basic ideas and attitudes could be presented first. When these are clear, it is possible to discuss further without being misunderstood.

Although Anarcho-Syndicalism aims at the organisation of all the workers in industry, it does not do so in terms of the mass to the exclusion of the individual. The socialist, totalitarian, conception of the collectivity being more important than the individuals composing it, of the majority having the right to override the minority, have nothing in common with the Anarchist concept of voluntary co-operation.

This begins with the individual worker, at his place of work, coming together with his fellows to organise the job in hand. And the smaller the unit of co-operation can be, the greater will be the control the workers have over it. Remember we are not concerned with building coffin clubs or any organisation divorced from the work concerned, but with an organisation through which production can be administered.

The first unit of organisation, then, should be the works council. (When I write 'works', incidentally, I use it as a general term. In various industries the words mine, depot, yard, shop, station, farm, mill, ship, dock, factory, etc., may be the exact term.) This council would consist of delegates chosen by the workers to do whatever organisational work is necessary for the smooth running of the works. If the productive unit is large and several processes are involved, each workshop,

workers and of society can be met. To-day, when workers go on strike, they form a strike committee, which is functional and temporary. When the function—of organising the strike—is completed, the strike committee dissolves, perhaps to re-form, with different individuals, when next the need arises. This gives experience to the widest possible number of workers and prevents too much influence passing into the hands of a few. As the functions the workers take over increase, however, more permanent committees may become necessary, but the federalist nature of the Syndicates, and the care that must be taken to ensure control from the bottom up all the time prevent any kind of leadership developing.

This form of organisation may be thought to be complicated, but in fact it is not. The honeycomb is not more complicated a design than the spider's web, but in the first all the cells are of equal importance and fit into each other, in the second control is maintained from the centre. Capitalism and governments have created complications where they need not exist because both are artificial complications themselves. Where common interest lies in the fulfilment of common need, co-ordination can be a simple matter.

The creation of industrial syndicates rather than craft unions, would itself be a simplifying measure, as I have already pointed out, but since it is presumptuous to forecast exactly how workers will organise when they once begin creating syndicates, I will not do more than indicate how I think they would form.

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This council must never be allowed to assume managerial powers. The good Syndicalist principle of no permanent officials will guard against that, and the fact that the council is composed of *delegates*, not *representatives*, means that all major issues must be decided by all the workers before the council puts them into practical shape.

The works council federates itself in two directions. First, 'vertically' it links itself in a syndicate of all the works councils in the country from the *same* industry. Beginning on works level, then regional level, then national, finally international level, exchange of information, technical knowledge and mutual help, keeps all the industry in touch. The workers in a factory form their works council, all the works of that industry in a certain region send delegates to a regional council, then the regional councils send delegates to the national council, who federate with the syndicate in other countries.

Secondly, 'horizontally', the works council federates with all the industries in its area, in the creation of a *confederation*, a federation of federations, beginning with local councils of labour, sending delegates to regional councils, sending delegates to a national council which maintains contact internationally.

This pattern of organisation is equally capable of fulfilling both the functions of Syndicalism:—the present-day job of waging the struggle against the owners and of organising for the expropriation of industry, and the task that follows the take-over, the running of industry in the free society.

Being decentralised, this form of organisation remains flexible and sensitive. No sooner have the men on the job taken a decision than it can be put into action. No permission has to be sought from an executive miles away, but each works council, knowing its own position best, is responsible only to the workers whose wishes it carries out.

During the time of preparation, it may be possible to go for long periods without any formal organisation at all. Anarcho-Syndicalists do not seek organisation for its own sake, but simply to act as the means through which the needs of the

workers and of society can be met. To-day, when workers go on strike, they form a strike committee, which is functional and temporary. When the function—of organising the strike—is completed, the strike committee dissolves, perhaps to re-form, with different individuals, when next the need arises. This gives experience to the widest possible number of workers and prevents too much influence passing into the hands of a few. As the functions the workers take over increase, however, more permanent committees may become necessary, but the federalist nature of the Syndicates, and the care that must be taken to ensure control *from the bottom up* all the time prevent any kind of leadership developing.

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The creation of *industrial* syndicates rather than craft unions, would itself be a simplifying measure, as I have already pointed out, but since it is presumptuous to forecast exactly how workers will organise when they once begin creating syndicates, I will not do more than indicate how I think they would form.

The most basic industry of all is agriculture. Without food we cannot live. The Syndicate of Agricultural Workers, allied to the Syndicates of Food, Drink and Tobacco Workers, would, therefore, come together with all their diverse occupations to ensure an adequate food supply, and to make each region as nearly self-supporting as possible. Through the local communes, which I shall discuss in the next chapter, the syndicate would know what the food requirements actually are. Knowing its own capacity, it would know whether it could keep up supplies from local, regional or national sources. Or, through the national committee, it might arrange for the import of produce from abroad.

To do all this, close collaboration with the Transport Workers' Syndicate could be maintained. The elimination of profit-seeking middlemen could enable produce to go straight to distributive centres, where the Syndicate of Distributive Workers could present it directly to the public. And the same principle would apply to all industry. Syndicates would form, for example, in mining and quarrying, power (gas, electricity, atomic power), textiles and clothing, building, wood-working, chemicals, iron and steel (closely linked with engineering and shipbuilding), paper and printing, glass and pottery, metal manufacture, entertainment and catering, all linked together by the Syndicates of Road, Rail, Air and Sea Transport.

But such a list can only be speculative. As the workers begin organising they will come up against all sorts of overlapping and borderline cases. What is important to suggest is that Syndicates should be broad rather than narrow and should strive all the time to minimise division among workers. To which syndicate workers belong is not so important as that all the workers in any given productive unit belong to the same syndicate.

I believe that on this sort of basis can be built the only industrial pattern which will prove workable in the modern world. The satisfaction the creative worker gets from his work depends most of all on the degree of responsibility he achieves, and the worth of his product to society. The abolition of money and the profit motive, the establishment of workers' control and the decentralisation of power would bring a dignity and *efficiency* quite unknown under capitalism.

(To be continued)

AEU NEW POLICY

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Under the present

COMMUNISM

THE STEEL D was better performance was wrong to pick out special mention, the highest praise. The criticism. I don't had bargained for that type of thing, they are all comrades.

Now of course, even about the original plan altered? The small they are entitled to there will be future script is going to can happen, even to company. The blue the stage for their delighted with the pale pinks. A few this and the nation a change, for better to tell.

FORDS TIGHTEN

At the AEU conference was instructed to 'effective' working of Joint Negotiating stewards at Ford's difficulty. They have sion to leave the union duties. Since '17 shop stewards tightened up. This

P.S.

Workers Hours Cut

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THE WORKERS' 11 NEXT STEP

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Freedom For Workers' Control

MAY 15 1965 Vol. 26 No. 15

under way, and they would also seek union support. Surely, from previous experience, this is the last thing that the Ford workers want. The 17 militants sacked two years ago at Dagenham are enough to show that this line of approach leads nowhere.

Since the war the unions have not even got as far as supporting strikes, let alone gaining anything by such action. If this dispute is to be won, it will be won by the men themselves. Let us hope that the stewards and the men realise this,

and organise accordingly. Even if no improvement is gained this time by rank and file action, at least the initiative and control rests with the people involved, instead of with those whose interest essentially lies with the management. For too long, union leaders and the Ford management have combined to smash militancy and shop floor organisation. Maybe a start can be made at Halewood on a different track, which will by-pass the union officials, building and relying instead on rank and file organisation. P.T.

AEU NIGHT SHIFT POLICY DEFEATED

IN JULY, engineering workers switch to a 40-hour week instead of the present 42 hours. The magical 40 hours has at last been reached even though it has been the official policy of the Amalgamated Engineering Union since before the First World War.

The long struggle for the 8-hour day, five days a week, is over, but since those far-off days, when this was but a dream which was expected to come true much earlier, shift working has been introduced to a great extent. Nowadays costly new machines are introduced only if they can be operated almost round the clock. Night work, at the best of times, is a thing which is preferred only by a very few. This was shown at a meeting last week of the national committee of the AEU in Blackpool.

The official policy of the union has been one of an 8-hour day or shift, but the majority of speakers said that with a 40-hour week, men would prefer a four-night week of 10 hours a night. This would leave a long week-end. The AEU national committee wants the night shift to be four nights of 8 hours and the fifth one of 4 hours. (Night shift, in actual fact, work less hours because of this type of shift.)

Under the present agreement, the Fri-

day night shift is a short one. However, at many factories, workers have preferred to go to bed instead of working and in fact there has been organised absenteeism in some factories on the Friday night shift in an attempt to force the management to change the arrangement of hours.

UP TO THE BLOKES ON THE JOB

One speaker at the conference at Blackpool said that men did not think it was worth travelling 30 miles, as some did, just for a few hours. Apparently Sir William Carron, the president of the AEU, said after the vote went against them, 'God help us!'

Night work, in my opinion, should be done only when it is really necessary. Every effort should be made to cut the hours on night shift. As to how these hours should be worked, can one lay down any hard and fast rules? Control by the men concerned should be the aim. They can thrash it out amongst themselves at shop floor level, then putting it to the management. Autonomy is needed for the workers' organisation in the engineering factories, so that they can work out what is best for themselves, instead of having to accept what Carron and the employers think is best.

P.T.

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THE WORKERS' NEXT STEP 11

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This form of organisation may be thought to be complicated, but in fact it is not. The honeycomb is not more complicated a design than the spider's web, but in the first all the cells are of equal importance and fit into each other, in the second control is maintained from the centre. Capitalism and governments have created complications where they need not exist because both are artificial complications themselves. Where common interest lies in the fulfilment of common need, co-ordination can be a simple matter.

The creation of industrial syndicates rather than craft unions, would itself be a simplifying measure, as I have already pointed out, but since it is presumptuous to forecast exactly how workers will organise when they once begin creating syndicates, I will not do more than indicate how I think they would form.

The most basic industry of all is agriculture. Without food we cannot live. The Syndicate of Agricultural Workers, allied to the Syndicates of Food, Drink and Tobacco Workers, would, therefore, come together with all their diverse occupations to ensure an adequate food supply, and to make each region as nearly self-supporting as possible. Through the local communes, which I shall discuss in the next chapter, the syndicate would know what the food requirements actually are. Knowing its own capacity, it would know whether it could keep up supplies from local, regional or national sources. Or, through the national committee, it might arrange for the import of produce from abroad.

To do all this, close collaboration with the Transport Workers' Syndicate could be maintained. The elimination of profit-seeking middlemen could enable produce to go straight to distributive centres, where the Syndicate of Distributive Workers could present it directly to the public. And the same principle would apply to all industry. Syndicates would form, for example, in mining and quarrying, power (gas, electricity, atomic power), textiles and clothing, building, wood-working, chemicals, iron and steel (closely linked with engineering and shipbuilding), paper and printing, glass and pottery, metal manufacture, entertainment and catering, all linked together by the Syndicates of Road, Rail, Air and Sea Transport.

But such a list can only be speculative. As the workers begin organising they will come up against all sorts of overlapping and borderline cases. What is important to suggest is that Syndicates should be broad rather than narrow and should strive all the time to minimise division among workers. To which syndicate workers belong is not so important as that all the workers in any given productive unit belong to the same syndicate.

I believe that on this sort of basis can be built the only industrial pattern which will prove workable in the modern world. The satisfaction the creative worker gets from his work depends most of all on the degree of responsibility he achieves, and the worth of his product to society. The abolition of money and the profit motive, the establishment of workers' control and the decentralisation of power would bring a dignity and efficiency quite unknown under capitalism.

(To be continued)

P.S.

AEU NIGHT SHIFT POLICY DEFEATED

IN JULY, engineering workers switch to a 40-hour week instead of the present 42 hours. The magical 40 hours has at last been reached even though it has been the official policy of the Amalgamated Engineering Union since before the First World War.

The long struggle for the 8-hour day, five days a week, is over, but since those far-off days, when this was but a dream which was expected to come true much earlier, shift working has been introduced to a great extent. Nowadays costly new machines are introduced only if they can be operated almost round the clock. Night work, at the best of times, is a thing which is preferred only by a very few. This was shown at a meeting last week of the national committee of the AEU in Blackpool.

The official policy of the union has been one of an 8-hour day or shift, but the majority of speakers said that with a 40-hour week, men would prefer a four-night week of 10 hours a night. This would leave a long week-end. The AEU national committee wants the night shift to be four nights of 8 hours and the fifth one of 4 hours. (Night shift, in actual fact, work less hours because of this type of shift.)

Under the present agreement, the Fri-

day night shift is a short one. However, at many factories, workers have preferred to go to bed instead of working and in fact there has been organised absenteeism in some factories on the Friday night shift in an attempt to force the management to change the arrangement of hours.

UP TO THE BLOKES ON THE JOB

One speaker at the conference at Blackpool said that men did not think it was worth travelling 30 miles, as some did, just for a few hours. Apparently Sir William Carron, the president of the AEU, said after the vote went against them, 'God help us!'

Night work, in my opinion, should be done only when it is really necessary. Every effort should be made to cut the hours on night shift. As to how these hours should be worked, can one lay down any hard and fast rules? Control by the men concerned should be the aim. They can thrash it out amongst themselves at shop floor level, then putting it to the management. Autonomy is needed for the workers' organisation in the engineering factories, so that they can work out what is best for themselves, instead of having to accept what Carron and the employers think is best.

P.T.

COMMAND PERFORMANCE

THE STEEL DEBATE on May 6 was better than expected. The performance was superb. It would be wrong to pick out any of the actors for special mention, they all warranted the highest praise. There is only one slight criticism. I don't think the director had bargained for the ad lib. I too think that type of thing unfair, especially when they are all comrades in the same club.

Now of course, every one is wondering about the original plot, has it really been altered? The small part actors believe they are entitled to know. After all, there will be future charades and if the script is going to be ignored anything can happen, even to the dissolving of the company. The blue company which held the stage for thirteen years is highly delighted with the post mortem of the pale pinks. A few more ad libs like this and the national audience will want a change, for better or worse, it is hard to tell.

FORDS TIGHTEN THE SCREW

At the AEU conference the executive was instructed to investigate in 'ineffective' working of the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee. Shop stewards at Fords are experiencing difficulty. They have to get written permission to leave the job to carry out their union duties. Since the dismissal of the '17 shop stewards' Fords have really tightened up. This is not unexpected.

Fords threw down the gauntlet on that occasion and it was not picked up, now they call the tune. You can't play friends and neighbours with Fords. 'When will we ever learn?'

LET'S BE FRIENDS

The Institute of Directors is urging an overhaul of unions' structure in order to abandon restrictive practices. Britain's economic difficulties they believe is due to the relationship between workers and management. There must be a more rational use of manpower to lower costs. Union structure must be thoroughly overhauled and modernised. In other words go modern, class division exists no more. Ford shop stewards—please note!

THE LODGER IS UNHAPPY

According to the Duke of Edinburgh industry should 'pull its finger out'. Can we ask the Duke to take his nose out. Polo and Yachting he may know something about, work never.

POWER CLERKS HAD ENOUGH

NALGO is to ballot its members in the electrical supply industry on strike action. An overtime ban since April 26 has not had the desired effect. NALGO has always been the more statesmanlike of the TU movement. Statesmen turn into rebels if pushed hard enough. If strike is decided, and the manual workers give active support, the clerks can't lose.

B.C.